RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

New Delhi, 26 June—3 July 1963

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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1. ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

The Communist Party of India fully shares the concern of all our patriotic and progressive countrymen at the continuing rise of the black forces of Indian reaction, which has scored significant successes in their immediate aim of enforcing reactionary changes in the policies and composition of the Indian Government. It is advancing step by step in a planned manner towards control over the Government and running the country in the interests of the Indian monopoly capital and big landlords, relying on the imperialist West.

Recent events have also revealed that the forces of the Rightist parties, headed by the Swatantra and Jana Sangh, could have never made the advances they have made if they were not directly aided and abetted by the Rightist elements inside the ruling party and the Government.

The new taxation measures, the concessions being given to Indian and foreign monopoly capital to solve the crisis of the Plan, the fawning on the American imperialists for military aid and such other policies as go against the people and against national interests, have created a fertile ground for the Rightist forces and emboldened them to launch further all-out offensive on the accepted policies of the nation.

However, the resentment of the masses against governmental attacks and the resistance of progressive-minded

Congressmen have also begun to express themselves against the Right reaction inside and outside the Congress.

The India-China conflict has been the golden opportunity of the Right reactionaries to exploit the sentiment of national defence, to further their own sinister designs.

The replies given to the numerous missions that went to the imperialist countries, the conditions that they laid down and the demands that they made for Kashmir have shown that what the West wanted to secure under the cover of giving military aid was not defence of India's sovereignty and integrity but furtherance of their own neo-colonialist policy in Asia with India as their new base.

Talk of joint defensive concern with the USA, the air umbrella, the stationing of American military missions in various parts of the country, the right of the imperialists to supervise the use of the arms lent or sold by them—are these not the beginnings of encroachment on the independence of the country? Though the basic policy of non-alignment continues, such measures lead to its adulteration in favour of reaction.

The Communist Party of India recognises that the continued deadlock over the Colombo proposals and the Chinese failure to open negotiations by accepting these proposals are facilitating the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers to disrupt anti-colonialist Bandung Solidarity of the region and use India as their instrument.

However great our difficulties, India cannot become stronger by giving up the national principles of anti-colonialism and national commitment to Bandung principles and Afro-Asian solidarity as the basis of our security, neighbourly solidarity and peace.

The Communist Party warns the people and the Government that India cannot be defended by getting into the political-military coils of the imperialist powers but by strengthening India's solidarity with the anti-imperialist nonaligned Afro-Asian nations and by strengthening our own defence potential.

While Right reaction wants to impress on the people that the armaments and the industries necessary for the country's defence and independent economic development can be built only with the help of the imperialists and by agreeing to their conditions, the upholders of the policy of non-alignment and friendship with the socialist countries could show that the most strategic and basic industrial plants and armaments factories could be obtained so far only from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

While the missions to the West were floundering in their shopping list, the missions to the socialist countries had secured agreements doubling and trebling India's trade with these countries and that, too, on the basis of the two-way trade in rupee terms, thus avoiding the perpetual foreign exchange crisis in which India is sunk in its trade with the West.

National recognition of this fact by all patriotic elements is a political necessity for a successful counter-offensive against the Indian Rightist offensive against India's foreign policy and the policy of independent economic development.

While on one side encouraging agreements were made with the socialist countries for expanding trade and for aid in industrial development under the Third and even the Fourth Plan, the economic policies of the Government in relation to Indian and foreign monopolists showed very objectionable regressive features.

Under their pressure, such as that of the Aid India Club, the World Bank and such other imperialist agencies and their supporters in the FICCI, etc. in India, more facilities were given to private foreign capital even in fields where the Industrial Policy Resolution had banned them as in oil. Shipping has been a notable victim to increased foreign participation. Private Indian capital is pressing hard to enter the field of armaments industry, which so far has been in the state sector.

This advance of foreign and Indian monopoly capital is

detrimental to the interests of national development and people's livelihood.

The effects of the Budget on the general economy and particularly on the toiling poor are showing in their full ugliness and cruelty, in the rising prices, the fall in real wages, the scarcities in the markets of essential goods. The Gold Control Rules have only succeeded in starving five lakh goldsmiths. Gold prices have refused to come down from their old level, even the spurious 14 carat is now selling at over Rs. 80 per 100 grammes.

The good intentions of stopping smuggling have borne little fruit, which only encourages the Government to issue more and more threats to the common people.

Harassed by the Compulsory Deposit Schemes, surcharges, levies and forcible collection of the National Defence Fund in the name of patriotism, the masses have begun to think of resistance. Instead of paying heed to the feelings of the people, the Government imposes more and more regimentation on the people, to obey its economic fiats.

The exposure of the shady deals of some of the big monopoly firms has only confirmed the people's belief that while all their labour goes to enrich the parasitic millionaires, all the demands of the Government for taxes fall on the poor, in one form or another.

In order to fight this impression, the Government makes show of searches and prosecutions of a company or a millionaire here and there. But that gives no relief to the masses or to the national economy, because the evil is not with a few individuals but in the whole class of monopolists and the Governmental policies which aid them.

Hence even to secure a partial relief for the people, or a modification of pro-monopoly pro-landlord drive of the financial policy which is being dictated through the Ministries of Finance and Economic Coordination and blessed by all the others, a struggle of the people from outside and stirring up from inside of those Congressmen, who feel

uncomfortable or critical about these doings of their leadership, is necessary.

These two forces must move together to stop the reactionaries from inside the Congress, who, though ostensibly attacked by the Right reactionaries from outside—like the Swatantra or Jana Sangh—are in essence allies of one another and in the service of the same monopoly interests, the same parasitic classes.

Hence, to check the shift to the Right, to reverse the reactionary policies and fight the unprecedented burden on the people, is an essential part of the struggle to stop the advance of Indian Right.

The initiative of our Party to collect signatures in millions and lead a March of thousands to Parliament to submit the Great Petition of the people is a move in this very direction and deserves the support of all who stand by the Indian people, seek to check official weaknesses towards monopoly and resist the Right.

On the national-political scene, the outrageously anti-national slogans and well-planned, coordinated campaign of the Rightist parties inside Parliament and in public is the dismay of all patriotic elements. It takes on graver proportions because it is duly and effectively aided by the Rightist elements inside the Indian Government.

Under the national emergency, the Government took for itself extraordinary powers but they were not used to effectively curb the rapacious attacks of Big Business on people's livelihood, and make them serve the national need nor check the provocative activities of the Rightist parties. They were, however, promptly and widely used to arrest the Communists and trade union leaders on a large scale and curb working class and progressive activities.

The use of the emergency to suppress the Fundamental Rights and the liberty of the individual has been carried to such an extent that it has stirred even liberal democratic opinion and eminent jurists of the Indian Bar, led by M. C. Setalvad and others, to question that aspect of the

Defence of India Act and Rules and have courageously given the opinion that they constitute a violation of the Indian Constitution in the matter of personal liberty and that detentions thereunder are illegal.

When some time after the establishment of the Republic and parliamentary democracy, India evolved her foreign policy of nonalignment, anti-colonialism and peaceful co-existence and her internal policy of industrialisation, encouragement of state sector and independent economic development, the imperialist powers and Indian reactionaries opposed and attacked these basic policies.

The successes that these policies secured, especially the help given by the socialist countries that contributed to their success and enabled India to resist the attempt of the imperialists to draw her into their war blocs defeated the game of Right reaction, for a time, who could not find enough fertile soil to upset the basic policies of the country.

But due to their continued pressure and the roots of ruling party being in the very exploiting classes from which the reactionaries also derive their strength, the basic policies suffered from serious vacillations, which had constantly to be checked by the vigilance of the progressive democratic forces of the Left parties and the reactions of the masses within and outside the Congress-fold.

The progressive forces, however, were not strong enough to prevent the concentration of the growing economic power in the hands of big monopolists and landlords who used their growing might to attack the masses, weaken the basic policies and prevent their consistent fulfilment in the interests of the country and the people.

The India-China border dispute, the invasion of October-November, 1962, the reverses suffered by India and the continuing deadlock, after the cease-fire, on the Colombo proposals, following from China's refusal to accept them in full, have been fully utilised by the imperialists and Right reactionaries to make a bold attempt not only to overthrow the basic policies of the country but even to

remove the chief architect of that policy, namely Nehru, and his close supporters from the Government and also to destroy the Left progressive forces, mainly the Communist Party and its mass organisations, which stood for the consistent fulfilment of the basic policies.

Reaction did not succeed fully in its game, but they won partial successes. Defence Minister Krishna Menon fell the first victim to the war-hysteria and the reverses at the front.

Communists were attacked in the name of patriotism and defence of the country. The imperialists rushed in with offers of military aid and Pacts on condition that India gave up her basic policies. Reaction, however, could not carry out its complete plan, as the cease-fire, the mediation of the Colombo Powers, the help of the Soviet Union, reduced tension and the enormous demands that the imperialists made on India, especially for the surrender of Kashmir as a price of their military aid, roused sections of the ruling Congress Party and the masses to the new danger that faced them.

While a certain recovery from pro-American illusions was on the horizon, the Government launched a budget in the name of national defence and development, which attacked the masses and heaped burdens on them. Concessions were made to foreign and Indian private monopoly capital to enrich themselves.

Right reaction from outside the Congress took advantage of this and mounted an offensive against the Government, but particularly against those Ministers, who wanted to curb foreign capital in oil, fuel and mines, on their encroachment on the Plan projects and state sector.

A show of eradicating corruption and misuse of foreign exchange, company funds—all inherent in the capitalist system—was made by searches of certain firms. While the Congress as a whole shared in the gains of capitalists by taking money for election funds, certain individuals who followed in the same footsteps, were hauled up for attack.

K. D. Malaviya, the man who made India's policy of independent oil industry and had earned the wrath of the imperialists, was ousted from the Ministry. And some more, who may hesitate to side wholly with reaction may go the same way.

These changes have delighted the imperialists and are helping them to once again try first a big shift in and eventually the total abandonment of the basic policies of the country. The Indian Cabinet will be goaded that way unless the Left elements in the Congress circles organise and act on their own, as well as in cooperation with the progressive Left forces outside and take independent action to defend the masses, who have begun to protest against Congress policies.

The elections of the Congress Parliamentary Executive showed signs that the Left and the Centrists had succeeded to some extent in blocking the further progress of the Rightists. There are rumblings of discontent in some sections of the AICC. Though most of the dissensions in the Congress ruling bodies and Ministries are factional struggles for power and profit, in a few cases, they involve anti-Rightist forces also. But to capitalise on all this, a bold purge of the Rightist Ministers in the Congress, coupled with the defence of the masses from their attacks is one of the prerequisites of blocking the progress of reaction and the overthrow of the country's basic policies.

The electoral defeats of the Congress and the success of Kripalani, Masani and Lohia have given a jolt to the smug complacency of the Congress ruling circles, though they try to brush away their significance by pointing to Congress successes in the majority of the other bye-elections.

The Rightists in the Congress, in order to hide the political meaning of the results, would want to ascribe the defeats to casteism and internal squabbles of the Congress. While these have played some part, the decisive factor was the discontent of the masses, which was successfully used by Right reaction.

While the successes of Kripalani and Masani in no way are an indication that the electorate endorses their pro-imperialist, war-mongering policies, it is some indication that the masses feel resentment at the policies of the Congress which has heaped such economic burdens on the toiling people.

Where progressive forces are not strong enough to inspire the faith in the masses, that they are the alternate leadership, Right reaction succeeds in misleading the masses to their fold for a time.

It is hoped that these electoral defeats will speed up the process of rethinking and realignment inside the Congress and lead to the retreat of the Right, correction of the anti-people policies, relief to the toiling masses and reassertion of the progressive basic policies of the nation.

This process would be facilitated more if those Congressmen, who want consistent fulfilment of the progressive basic policies, adopted by Parliament under their own leadership, would give up their anti-Communist prejudices. The patriotic standpoint of the Communist Party has been acclaimed in the recent past, after the Chinese attack, by all except the diehard reactionaries.

During the national emergency, the Communists have fulfilled their duty to the people and the country, adhering to the policy of peace, nonalignment, anti-colonialism, defence of the country and the toiling people. In the struggle against the growing forces of reaction, all progressive Left democratic forces, including Communists and those Congressmen, who feel that to fight Right reaction of the Swatantra-Jana Sangh variety, they must also fight their own Right inside the Congress and defend the masses and the basic policies of the country consistently, ought to evolve forms of cooperation in action from issue to issue, without giving up loyalties to one's own principles and organisation.

The Communist Party of India draws the attention of all patriotic elements, particularly Congressmen, to the fact:

(*a*) The Indian Right constitutes the main menace within the country to Indian independence and progress ;

(*b*) The failures of the Congress regime have created a fertile soil for the rise of the Right ;

(*c*) The Right within the Congress functions in cooperation with the leaders of the anti-Congress Right ;

(*d*) Anti-communism is a weapon of reaction, whether Indian or foreign.

To halt the advance of the Right inside and outside the Congress is the common and most pressing task of all political elements, who are true to the nation and loyal to the people. The National Council of the Communist Party of India proposes the following issues for common activity and struggle by all democratic and progressive elements :

1. Defence of nonalignment and the policies of peace, anti-colonialism and Afro-Asian solidarity and cooperation with the Colombo Powers for the solution of India-China conflict by peaceful negotiations; increasing cooperation with socialist countries headed by the USSR and refusal to surrender to Western blackmail in the name of securing 'aid';
2. Defence of the policy of planned development on the basis of heavy industry, the state sector, agrarian reforms and development of our own defence industry;
3. Withdrawal of the emergency, repeal of the Defence of India Act and release of all detenus ;
4. Withdrawal of unjust tax burdens, levies, surcharges, compulsory deposits, etc., as in the Central Government's budget and other state budgets and steps to raise the standard of living of the toiling people ;
5. Elimination of corruption in administration and in all walks of life and establishment of democratic control over Governmental agencies and state sector projects ;
6. Immediate nationalisation of banks, foreign trade and oil to begin with; and
7. Reorganisation of the Union Cabinet and State Minis-

tries with elements who will loyally carry out the above, without vacillation and compromises.

2. ON PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN'S VISIT TO THE USA AND UK

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, while welcoming President Radhakrishnan back on his return from the USA and UK, considers it its painful duty to point out that certain public utterances by the revered Head of the Indian State, while abroad, have not been consistent with India's national ideals, anti-imperialist and anti-racialist traditions, and the requirements of our national sovereignty.

The Indian people had expected from a personage of his stature a sharp and unequivocal condemnation of all surviving forms of racialism and colonialism—at least in his address to the United Nations, which had itself unanimously demanded the end of colonialism and racial discrimination. But no such condemnation was heard.

Not only has the Indian public been disappointed in this respect: it has also been dismayed to find, in the Kennedy-Radhakrishnan joint communique of 5 June 1963, a bracketting together of India with USA as 'the world's two largest democracies', just at the very moment when the world was horrified by the repugnant spectacle of tens of thousands of American Negro citizens being jailed, assaulted, tortured, and even murdered and lynched for the 'crime' of demanding equal rights with the Whites and an end to the barbarous segregation laws in States like Alabama and Missouri, which debar Negroes from entry to restaurants, schools, colleges and Churches and even from enrolment as voters. If this is the picture of one of the 'world's largest democracies', India would prefer not to be described as its partner.

The National Council also expresses its concern at the

reference in the joint communique to the 'mutual defensive concern' shared by the USA and India over China's aggressive designs, coupled with the reported statement by President Radhakrishnan in Washington that India's determination was 'not only to safeguard its own freedom but the interests of the whole of South-East Asia.' Such statements, couched in all-too-familiar 'cold-war' language, would only strengthen the imperialist organisers of regional military blocs like SEATO and CENTO. Besides, they are inconsistent with the accepted policies of a nonaligned country like India which stands not for 'joint' defence but for its independence and self-reliance in defence efforts with such assistance from friendly powers as is consistent with its dignity and sovereignty.

In Britain, our President recalled with gratitude that when the British bestowed freedom on India, they left us with 'a going concern'. Did the Rashtrapati do justice to the sacred memory of those innumerable martyrs and fighters for India's national freedom who know that independence was won by their sacrifices and not 'bestowed' as a gift and that, too, amid the tragic carnage and fratricidal strife provoked by the British-engineered partition of the sub-continent?

The Communist Party of India is second to none in its respect for the person of President Radhakrishnan; nevertheless, it cannot but reluctantly draw the nation's attention to the above lapses in the President's public pronouncements, which will please none but the colonialists and racists of the West and tarnish India's traditional image in the eyes of all oppressed and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

3. ON THE EMERGENCY

More than 7 months have passed since the ceasefire on our border. The situation in the country has radically changed compared to the critical days of October-November. In

fact, this is recognised by the Government itself and in many of the steps it has already taken. In view of the emergency, by-elections were postponed, bans on forward trading were imposed and similar other measures taken but all these emergency measures have already been revoked. Many by-elections have taken place and the life of the country has returned to normalcy. Yet the Government has chosen to continue the emergency under which fundamental rights and the normal functions of the Constitution in some vital respects remain suspended.

The emergency is now being used in the interests of the monopolists and landlords so that they can carry on with impunity their onslaughts on the living conditions of the masses. Emergency has become a cover for growing corruption and other misdeeds of the bureaucracy and administration. The powers under the emergency continue to be invoked to arrest and imprison political workers, trade unionists and other workers in the mass movement and often frame them up on flimsy charges. Under emergency the Government has even assumed powers which the eminent jurists of the country have declared unconstitutional and illegal. Even the right of *habeas corpus* is sought to be denied.

Emergency is now an instrument of intimidation of the masses and is openly directed against people's movement. They are used to justify wanton attacks on the democratic rights and liberties of the people whenever they raise their voice in defence of their interests. Ministers and officials openly go about threatening people that they would be dealt with under emergency should they launch any movement against anti-people policies such as those under the Morarji Budget or against rising prices. Emergency powers thus constitute a blatant challenge today to the masses and to democracy.

Naturally from diverse sections of the people and public life the demand for lifting the emergency is being increasingly raised. The recent conference of the All-India Bar

Association of India held in Bangalore, which was attended by many eminent jurists and lawyers from all over India has sharply expressed the view 'that it is extremely undesirable that a state of emergency such as has been declared should be permitted to continue indefinitely'. As for the masses they are simply disgusted with the emergency powers and their abuses. The working people are of course the worst victims.

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the present situation does not warrant the continuance of the emergency and the extraordinary powers such as Defence of India Act and Rules thereunder. It is absurd to suggest that in the present conditions a state of emergency is needed in order to strengthen our defence which is undoubtedly a great assignment for the nation as a whole. In many countries emergency is not proclaimed even in conditions of war.

Having reviewed the situation from the standpoint of the nation as well as of the masses, the National Council of the Communist Party of India has come to the conclusion that the emergency should be lifted without delay and the normal functions of the Constitution as well as rights and liberties thereunder restored.

4. ON RELEASE OF COMMUNIST PRISONERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly protests against the Government's policy of continuing to keep in jails hundreds of Communists and trade union workers and leaders, who were arrested over seven months ago after the declaration of Emergency in the last week of October.

The National Council is of opinion that the Government made these arrests in an attempt to divide, disrupt and thus destroy the Communist Party and the militant trade union movement.

These arrests were totally unjustified, particularly since the Government has not in one case even proved that any of these prisoners had been guilty of sabotaging the defence efforts of the country.

Their detention is all the more unjustified after eminent jurists of the stature of former Attorney-General Shri Setalvad, Shri Viswanath Shastry and others have opined that those provisions of the Defence of India Act and Rules which impinge on certain of the fundamental rights, particularly with regard to detention are *ultra vires* of the Constitution. The continued detention of those prisoners is thus no longer a question for the Communist Party alone, but is a question of violation of the principles of the Constitution itself.

The National Council demands the immediate release of all political prisoners in jail and restoration of the fundamental rights to the people of the country, of which they have been deprived under the Emergency and the Defence of India Rules.

In the immediate future, the Party and the people have to devote all their energies to the movement for the Great Petition and the March to Parliament. This petition, along with its demands relating to taxation, prices and nationalisation calls for the end of Emergency Powers, under which the prisoners are held in jail. We are confident that this great movement will succeed in realising the general demands of the people. We hope, along with that, the release of the prisoners also will be realised.

5. ON THE PETITION TO PARLIAMENT AND THE MARCH

The National Council of the Communist Party of India fully endorses the resolution on the Great Petition and March to Parliament.

Everyone admits that the general mass of people in the country feel acutely the burden of rising prices, the en-

hanced taxes, levies and surcharges. Even the spokesmen of the Government admit that the new taxes and the CDS do impose a burden on the mass of people. All the parties, whether of the Right or the Left, say the same thing. Thus the Communist Party is not alone in stating that the people are burdened heavily by the rise in prices, taxes, levies, etc.

The Government, the Congress Party and their supporters like the INTUC and the whole class of big monopolists and exploiters support, defend and justify these burdens on the ground that the requirements of the development of the economy and the defence of the country compel Government to raise more funds and hence these taxes, levies, surcharges, the CDS and the rise in prices have to be borne by the people willingly despite the hardships caused, in the service of the country. To oppose the taxation measures and the policies of the Government in this behalf is to oppose the national interests.

The Communist Party supports the needs of independent development of our national economy and the defence of the country. It admits the necessity to raise funds for the purpose.

But it does not support the taxation measures pursued by the Government and the policy behind these measures. The Communist Party thinks that the required money must not be raised by heaping burdens on the mass of people who are already heavily taxed and are poor, who as toiling masses of the country, are the real creators of wealth and yet are forced to remain poor.

The vast and increasing wealth of the country produced by the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the middle-classes is being appropriated by a small class of exploiters. More and more wealth of the country is becoming concentrated in their hands to the detriment of the interests of the country and the people.

The big monopolists and landlords with their control of the major sources of production and distribution raise prices, totally unrelated to costs of production, create scarcity and

hoarding, manipulate the resources of money through speculation, stock exchange and the big banks. They hold the society to ransom.

The Government, despite the fact that it is elected by the common people, frames the budgets, the taxation measures and investment policies in such a way that it is these classes of exploiters, Indian and foreign, who enrich themselves and the toiling masses lose the fruits of their labour. Neither the common man nor the country gains.

In the name of conserving the country's foreign exchange, gold smuggling was sought to be attacked by the Gold Control Orders. But the only result so far has been the tragic unemployment and ruining of lakhs of goldsmiths, harassment of the middle-classes and threats to close the goldmines of the country. While workers are asked to work hard and save for the country in the emergency, that very emergency is permitted to resume speculation on the stock-exchanges, on the plea that there normalcy has returned. While savings are asked from the people, the life-insurance money given by millions is invested not in the needs of the state but in the speculative stock-exchange and private investment. Hence, once again, it is clear that by such policies neither the common man nor the country gains, either in the matter of development or defence.

Hence the Communist Party makes very concrete and constructive proposals by which the Government can get money for defence and development without mortgaging our country to foreign capital and without hitting the livelihood of the millions of our toiling people.

It, therefore, proposes that the Government should take immediate steps to nationalise the banks, oil industry and foreign trade (export-import). This nationalisation will, in terms of money, give the Government enough money and resources to enable heavy taxes imposed on the common man being done away.

Nationalisation of banks will break the concentrated power of monopoly finance, the big sources of speculation

and manipulation of prices and hoarding. It will enable the plan investments to be controlled in the desired direction.

The nationalisation of oil will release our oil, kerosene, transport, machines and engines from the stranglehold of prices and supplies dictated by the imperialist Anglo-American interests. Merely building our oil industry is not enough. The concessions given to the foreign oil dictators must be done away with so that every machine, every transport, every hut that is at their mercy is freed from their hold of prices and supplies and the sinister influences that these imperialist agencies spread in the ruling circles of our country are eradicated.

The nationalisation of export-import trade in bulk commodities, apart from yielding profits to the State, will scotch the theft of foreign-exchange of the country which is done on a big scale through under-invoicing and over-invoicing. The Government itself admits the existence of this robbery of our nation's resources. A few searches and fines on a few companies is not going to stop the theft. It will only benefit those who are not searched or found out and enable them to occupy the field of those who are careless enough to be caught.

In making those demands for nationalisation, our Party is not introducing any new principle but asking for full extension of what is being done half-heartedly. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and Life Insurance carried out some years ago, the institution of state-trading that exists in certain commodities and the building of oil under the ONGS state sector admit the necessity of taking these vital sectors of economy in the state sector.

Thus, when our Party calls for slashing down of prices, taxes, surcharges and the CDS, we are showing the alternative path also, so that the nation's needs are satisfied and people's burdens are reduced.

Those who criticise us as being anti-national in making these demands should remember that very responsible economists have been making these demands before the

Planning Commission since the Plans started being made. But the capitalist vested interests, backed by the Right-wing in the Congress, prevented their being adopted in full.

Those who criticise us should note that the Governments of Burma, UAR and Ceylon have taken steps in these directions in order to better develop their economies. And these Governments are not run by the Communists.

In order to impress on the Government the need to take these measures against prices and taxes and for nationalisation, the Communist Party resolves to call upon the people to sign a Great Petition to Parliament, requesting this sovereign body which is the source of all laws of our country to take measures as outlined above and in order to present this Great Petition through their elected representatives; the Party calls upon batches of people from all States to march to Delhi to demonstrate the intensity of their feeling in this behalf.

The Petition to Parliament also requests that steps be taken to end the emergency and to reform the state apparatus in such a way as to allow democratic control over the Governmental agencies and state sector with a view to eradicating corruption and bureaucratic oppression.

The Communist Party calls upon all units and members of the Party to work with full zeal and correct understanding to make the Petition and the March a success.

Party members, while getting the signatures and preparing for the March, must educate the people in the policies envisaged in the Petition. The movement for the Petition and the March must emphasise two aspects of the question: The struggle for relief from high prices and taxes and the struggle for nationalisation. Merely describing the misery of the people is not enough. The solution, which has a deep democratic political and economic content, must be emphasised. In fact, only the realisation of the second aspect—nationalisation—can secure the first aspect, that is, real relief, to the people, without impinging on national

needs, which in fact get fulfilled in a better way. The question is: Will the policies of a handful of monopolists succeed or the policies demanded by the toiling masses succeed?

In working for the Petition, the Party seeks the cooperation of all those forces who want to work for the relief of the masses by taking over the monopoly interests for the benefit of the country.

Parties like Swatantra, Jan Sangh also talk against the taxes and prices. But their solution is to seek American aid at the cost of the country's interests. We cannot agree to such a proposal.

There are some parties and groups like the Socialist Party, etc. who agree to nationalisation but want all of it at once, which we think to be premature.

The Communist Party will seek the cooperation of all who agree to both the aspects of the movement. The Petition we are launching is not of any party or any particular trade union or organisation. Those mass organisations and such others who for reasons of their own want to frame their own Petition can do so provided the basis is relief for the masses and weakening of the power of monopoly interests through nationalisation.

The Communist Party calls upon all progressive opinion, including Congressmen, who believe in the pursuit of these policies to join in this all-national, non-party movement of all the oppressed people for immediate relief from high prices, high taxes, surcharges, levies and CDS, for nationalisation and for end of the emergency.

The National Council directs the Secretariat:

—to prepare the necessary propaganda material for the movement, particularly for nationalisation;

—to fix the date and the mode of March and the presentation of the Petition;

—to talk with other parties, groups and leaders, including Congressmen to secure their cooperation;

—to bring about cooperation among the trade union and other mass organisations of various affiliations, to participate in the Petition and the March on the basis of a common approach;

—to emphasise the national and popular aspect of the movement;

—to organise troupes, squads of workers, poets, singers to help in the mobilisation;

—to do the necessary preparations for the provision of conveniences to the Marchers when they arrive in Delhi City;

—to seek the help of all the social and other organisations for looking after the thousands who will come for the March;

—to work out the slogans for the March which all can accept and to preserve the orderly and peaceful nature of the Great demonstration.

6. ON BARAUNI FIRING

The National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns the brutal and unprovoked police firing on the Barauni oil refinery workers on Sunday, 16 June, as a result of which at least three persons are reported to have been killed and many more injured. The Council sends its sincere condolences to the families of those killed in the firing.

The Council condemns the callous attitude of the Bihar Government which has not even cared to issue an official communique on the firing, has not given the exact number and names of the persons killed and injured in the firing, has not explained why the bodies of the workers killed were not handed over to their relatives for the funeral rites and why medical aid by qualified doctors was not arranged after the firing. On the contrary, the local authorities have imposed a virtual reign of terror over the whole area and

have arrested over a hundred persons including the Union Vice-President, Comrade Chandrashekhar Singh, MLA in a desperate bid to cover up their misdeeds.

The Council, therefore, demands the immediate institution of an open judicial inquiry, the transfer of guilty officials, the withdrawal of the criminal cases, and the fulfilment of the just demands of the workers, including compensation for those killed and injured.

The Council notes with concern that the failure of Bihar Government to intervene effectively against the unfair labour practices of the construction contractors who are depriving their workers of minimum rights and service conditions, as well as the reactionary attitude of the refinery management, are repeatedly provoking serious disputes leading to interruptions in the construction work of the refinery.

In the interests of completing the construction of this important public sector project on time and in the interests of justice for the workers, the Council urges upon the Government of India to play a more direct role in the handling of labour disputes at Barauni so that peaceful conditions are ensured.

7. ON SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY

On the occasion of the observance of South African Freedom Day, the National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to the people of South Africa, battling against the most bestial forms of racialism.

The Council, salutes, in particular, the South African Communist Party, which, despite complete illegality and the worst forms of repression used against it, has continued steadfastly to uphold the cause of the working masses of South Africa and to build united action with the African

National Congress and all other democratic organisations and forces in the country.

The Council extends its full support to the decisions taken at the recent African Summit Conference at Addis Ababa to intensify solidarity actions with the South African freedom movement.

The Council congratulates the delegates of African countries for taking the initiative with the full support of the socialist countries and of India and other nonaligned Asian countries to boycott the South African delegates attending the ILO Conference and to secure their expulsion from that organisation.

The Communist Party of India urges the Government of India to take the active part expected of it, in the UNO and elsewhere, in the moves now being made to secure the expulsion of the racialist, barbaric and oppressive South African Government from all UNO bodies.

Victory to the South African people struggling against racialism! Long live South African freedom movement! Long Live the South African Communist Party!

COMMUNIQUE

The National Council of the Communist Party of India met in Delhi from 26 June to 3 July 1963. Comrade S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Party, presided. Fifty-four members of the Council, coming from almost every State, attended the meeting.

The Council discussed the national-political developments since it had last met in February. It took serious note of the dangerous manner in which the deadlock caused by the non-acceptance of the Colombo proposals by the Chinese Government, was being utilised by the US-British imperialists and the Right reactionary forces inside the country. Imperialism and reaction seek to drive Indian policies towards the Right and eventually reverse the basic policies of nonalignment, planned development, etc.

The Council, taking note of the suggestion coming from various quarters that the Government of India should explore the possibility whether, in view of the fact that bilateral talks have not so far been possible due to the non-acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China, a Conference of the Colombo Six along with India and China at the same table can be held to clarify and resolve the difference in the interpretation and application of the Colombo proposals and the opening of negotiations to settle the dispute peacefully to the benefit of everyone concerned. The Council endorsed the proposal and hoped that the India Government and the Colombo powers will succeed in bringing about such a compromise.

The Council adopted a number of important resolutions on the political situation: (1) On the dangerous growth in the strength of Right reactionary forces in the country; (2) On certain unfortunate utterances of the President dur-

ing his visits to the USA and UK; (3) Demanding the lifting of the Emergency, which has made serious inroads into the fundamental rights of the citizens and to the denial of civil liberties; (4) Calling for the immediate release of all political prisoners.

The Council devoted special attention to the campaign launched by the Central Secretariat of the Party on signatures to the Great Petition to Parliament, against the anti-people taxes, high prices and corruption and for the nationalisation of banks, oil and foreign trade. Representatives from every State reported on the enthusiastic response which had met the announcement of the campaign, among the widest sections of the working masses. Further organisational details were worked out regarding the campaign and the actual March to Delhi for the demonstration before Parliament.

The Council adopted a special resolution on the Petition campaign, emphasising the main features of the Petition and requested cooperation from all progressive forces in the common struggle.

Organisational Matters

The National Council gave careful attention to the organisational problems facing the Party and underlined the necessity to strengthen the Party organisation at all levels by strict adherence to the Party organisational principles. The Council has called on all members and branches of the Party to do their utmost to strengthen Party unity and to throw themselves whole-heartedly into all the activities undertaken by the Party, particularly the movement of the Great Petition and March in the immediate future.

Party Congress

It was decided that it was not possible to prepare for and hold a Party Congress this year as required by the Constitution of the Party.

Central Secretariat

The Council accepted the resignation of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad from the Central Secretariat of the Party.

It decided not to fill the post of General Secretary of the Party for the present and requested the Chairman to carry out the duties of the General Secretary in addition to his own.

The Council elected Comrades P. C. Joshi and Romesh Chandra as members of the Secretariat.

For the present, the two other vacancies in the Secretariat will not be filled.

Party Membership

The Council noted that the current Party membership renewal and enrolment period had closed on July 1. All State Committees were asked to pay the Central dues from membership fees to the Central Secretariat before August 15.

New Delhi,
3 *July* 1963

SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI